The Suffragist

FIVE CENTS

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE
AND OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SEPTEMBER 23, 1916

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Drawn by Nina E. Allender

The Democratic Party on the Run

It's not polite, but he's scared!

Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

AND

National Woman's Party

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The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage
and of the National Woman's Party
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SEPTEMBER 23, 1916

Notes of the Week

Sins of Omission

IS the Democratic party afraid to defend its record on suffrage? It looks very much as if it were trying to hide it.

Their campaign text book holds its record up to the Republican nominee in the form of twenty-one questions, "What would you have done, Mr. Hughes?" But suffrage, the most important part of the record to women, is not mentioned.

The suffrage record of President Wilson is given in one short page, containing the simple statement that "the President voted for suffrage in New Jersey," the text of the suffrage planks in the Republican and Democratic platforms, and the vote in the Senate on the federal amendment.

The text-book forgot to mention the action of the Democratic caucus of the House of Representatives February 3, 1914, which passed a resolution by a vote of 123 to 57 declaring that suffrage was a state and not a federal question; it forgot to mention the action of the Rules Committee of the House which blocked the suffrage resolution in committee until after the congressional elections of 1914; it forgot the vote in the House, January 12, 1915, when 31 per cent of the Democrats voted for the measure as against 64 per cent of the Republicans, 93 per cent of the Progressives and 100 per cent of the independent membership; in fact, the Democratic campaign committee just forgot to tell the truth.

Socialist Platform Now Adopted Contains Federal Amendment Plank

THE draft of the Socialist platform which was submitted by their political convention to a referendum of all members of the party has been adopted by vote of the members and is now the formally accepted platform of the Socialist party. The woman suffrage plank in the platform reads:

"Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

"The immediate adoption of the so-called 'Susan B. Anthony amendment' to the constitution of the United States, granting the suffrage to women on equal terms with men."

Reduced Railroad Rates for Men Voters Being Considered

FIFTEEN thousand voters in Washington, D. C., will get reduced rates home to vote this fall if the railroads accept plans that are being made by political clubs.

It has been the policy of the railroads in the past to grant reduced rates for the accommodation of voters. An arrangement is being considered making it possible for a voter to make two trips, one for registration and one for voting, at similarly reduced rates.

A bureau will be maintained in Washington where the voter can obtain information on special rates or registration dates in the states.

It seems almost incredible that while everything possible is being done to make voting easier for men, no steps have been taken to extend this right to women!

"Boss Jim" Nugent in Charge of Democratic Campaign in New Jersey

BOSS JIM" NUGENT, widely known as a foe of suffrage and a machine politician, has been put in charge of President Wilson's campaign in New Jersey, according to the Topeka *Daily Capital*.

Mr. Nugent claims the credit for the defeat of the woman suffrage referendum in New Jersey, 1915.

Maine Election Points to Great Interest in November

THE *Outlook* for September 20, commenting on the Maine elections, says:

"The total number of votes cast was the largest in many years. This increase in the total vote in a state of well-nigh stationary population is significant of the great interest taken in the election, and perhaps indicates that the country is not so apathetic about national questions as the quietness of the presidential campaign so far would seem to suggest."

No campaign in which the question of political liberty is an issue could fail to arouse deep interest.

Referendum Votes to Reduce Working Hours of Massachusetts Women and Minors

A BILL to reduce the working week of women and minors from fifty-eight to fifty-four hours was ratified by the voters of Maine in a referendum ballot September 11.

Woman's Republican Campaign Committee Sends Out "Hughes" Special

THE itinerary of the "Hughes campaign train," which will leave Chicago October 2, has recently been given to the public. Financed and managed by women, the train will tour twenty-eight states carrying a number of the most successful speakers of the women's Republican campaign committee.

Compilation of State Laws Affecting Women Published by Mrs. Annie G. Porritt

A LITTLE book, compiled by Mrs. Annie G. Porritt, who is a member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union, has just been published by the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company. It is intended for the use not only of suffragists, but even more for that of newly enfranchised women. In every state where women vote their desire is to obtain legislation for the protection of the home and children. This book is a compilation of the laws affecting women and children in all the states—suffrage and non-suffrage.

The subjects covered in the volume are the labor laws as they affect women and children—hours of labor, sanitary conditions and laws intended for the protection of life, health and morals; school laws and regulations concerning leaving school for work. There is a section devoted to laws creating industrial commissions in eleven states—six of the equal suffrage states. Other sections give mothers' pension laws, the laws concerning married women's property rights, guardianship of children, age of consent, and laws for public morality.

The book sells for $1 bound in paper and for $1.50 bound in cloth. It may be had from the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company, 171 Madison Avenue, New York.

President Wilson's Record on the National Suffrage Amendment

SINCE taking office in March, 1913, President Wilson has been the head and front of the opposition to the federal suffrage amendment.

He has refused to recommend to Congress favorable action on the amendment.

He has refused to ask committees of Congress, who were obstructing the amendment, to take action upon it.

He has declared his personal opposition to the amendment, on various changing pretexts; and has influenced opinion within his party so heavily against it that over two-thirds of the Democrats voted "Nay" on the amendment in the Senate and the House.

He drafted himself a states' rights plank on woman suffrage for the Democratic platform. He then declared the platform prevented him from giving any assistance to suffrage in Congress.

He refused (July 28, 1916) the request of Democratic Congressmen from the equal suffrage states to allow the suffrage amendment to be voted on in the House. A western Representative said to Miss Maud Younger, of California: "He does not care what happens to us. He prefers to get the support of the anti-suffrage element in the big eastern states than yield to the sentiment of the western states."

In his speech accepting the 1916 Democratic platform he omitted all reference to woman suffrage.

He has shown throughout his administration an instinctive contempt for the claim of women to self-government.

He went to Philadelphia (May 10, 1915) to welcome to citizenship four thousand newly naturalized aliens, and refused to see for five minutes a deputation of women, the leading social and civic workers of Philadelphia, who wished to lay before him their earnest desire for enfranchisement.

He refused to see at the White House two distinguished representatives of this delegation, who waited three days in Washington in the hope of obtaining a brief interview with him.

He was unwilling to receive a deputation of Kansas women (February 2, 1916), and kept them waiting an hour in the snow outside the governor's residence. This was Mr. Wilson's first visit to a free state since entering upon the presidency; and the enfranchised women of Kansas thought it their duty to express their desire for the enfranchisement of women throughout the nation.

"Recently his (Mr. Wilson's) party declared for woman suffrage in so far as it could be obtained by amending state constitutions, and Mr. Wilson is known to share this attitude. It is the inevitable attitude of a party politician in approaching suffrage, because it squares his record without committing him or his associates to any responsibility for promoting their ostensible opinions."

The New Republic, September 16, 1916

The President's Statements on Suffrage

The President has attempted to defend his opposition to woman suffrage in a number of statements. *Each contradicted the other, and were contradicted by the rest of his record.*

These statements are important, because they show clearly that the President has not dealt fairly and honestly with this issue. They reveal in the President, too, a mental unreliability as hurtful to all the other interests of the nation as to the enactment of woman suffrage.

President Wilson said,

1. That he was too busy with tariff and currency bills to assist woman suffrage. (March 28, 1913, to deputation of District of Columbia College Equal Suffrage League.)

2. He was "not an individual;" he was the "spokesman of a party;" and could not urge legislation which was not in the platform. (December 8, 1913, to a deputation representing the National American Woman Suffrage Association; and February 2, 1914, to a deputation of four hundred working women.)

After saying this, he forced through Congress legislation on Panama Canal tolls, which directly contradicted a provision of the party platform.

3. Suffrage was a matter for settlement only by the states. (June 30, 1914, to a deputation of five hundred club women.)

This is not true; Congress has the power to pass a federal suffrage amendment.

4. His "passion" was for "local self-government." (June 30, 1914, to club women.)

This does not square with the administration shipping bill empowering the government to own and operate a merchant marine; the federal roads bill, the federal child labor bill, and the federal "eight hour" bill, passed by this administration. No one President has made greater extension of the federal power than has President Wilson.

5. Three-fourth of the states ought not to "force" suffrage on the remaining one-fourth. (June 30, 1914.)

Asked if that provision had not been agreed upon when the Constitution was framed, he said, greatly annoyed, that he did not know what was agreed upon; and did not think it "quite proper" that he submit himself to cross-examination.

6. Women should first win thirty-six states separately; *they could then "force" it on the remaining twelve!* (December 10, 1914, to Miss Anne Martin, of Nevada.)

7. He was "tied to a conviction," which he had had all his life, that suffrage ought to be brought about state by state. (January 6, 1916, to deputation of Democratic women.)

8. He had "an open mind"; and would confer with his party colleagues on this matter. (December 6, 1915, to deputation of women voters.)

9. He had *not* conferred with his colleagues; his own mind was still convinced that suffrage should be won state by state. (January 27, 1916, to deputation of New York women.)

10. "We must not yield to arguments of political expediency; *and besides, the women cannot deliver the vote.*" (Message brought by a prominent Democrat to the national Democratic convention at St. Louis, June, 1916.)

11. Since the Democratic convention had adopted a states' rights suffrage plank, he could not favor a federal suffrage amendment. (June 21, 1916, to Mrs. D. E. Hooker, of Richmond, representing the Virginia Federation of Labor.)

President Wilson wrote that plank himself. Now he says the *plank* keeps him from helping suffrage!

12. He would not urge the House Judiciary Committee to allow a vote on suffrage; *he did not think he should interfere with the action of a committee of Congress.* (June 21, 1916, to Mrs. Hooker.)

This is contradicted by the President's every day practice.

13. "All good things take a great deal of hard work."

This the President said when a pamphlet was *put in his hand* by Mrs. Hooker (June 21, 1916), proving that it was a practical impossibility to win suffrage in many states on account of the prohibitive conditions imposed by state constitutions for their amendment.

The President is, therefore, attempting to block a method, provided by the constitution, for winning woman suffrage, and is trying to divert women's work into impossible channels; and he says to women who put into his hands the proof that he is guiding their movement falsely, "Good things must be worked for!"

14. He was not opposed to the federal suffrage amendment on account of states' rights; but on account of the negro problem in the South. (July 24, 1916, to Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, of Kansas.)

(In the fifteen southern states there are two million more white females than negro men, women and children put together.)

15. Women will not vote in November on this issue (freedom for women); it would not be intelligent. (June 24, 1916; to Mrs. Blatch.)

Yet speaking of Mexican men, he said, "I have an almost reckless enthusiasm for human liberty."

16. He was "impatient" about discussions of suffrage methods. "I will fight with you." "The tide is rising to meet the moon." "You can afford to wait." (September 18, 1916, to convention of National American Woman Suffrage Association.)

The President did not say a word on this occasion to explain why, if he favored suffrage, he has steadily opposed it in Congress; or what he would do to help it in the future.

On January 27, 1916, President Wilson said in New York

To Men:	To Women:
"We all in our hearts agree upon the fundamental principles of our life as a nation. Now we ought to tax ourselves with the duty of seeing that these principles are realized in action." (Address to motion picture board, New York.)	"The business of government is a business from day to day. However great the principle involved in this instance, action must of necessity, in great fundamental constitutional changes, be deliberate." (Address to deputation of New York women.)

Men, Women, and the Woman's Party

MEN will not put suffrage first; therefore, we women must." This new battle-cry of the Woman's Party arose when a number of well-known men—the husbands of women who are working with the Woman's Party against President Wilson's return with his party to power—threw in their lot with President Wilson in spite of his opposition to woman suffrage. We believe in suffrage, they say; but there are other issues to vote on—"more important."

The women, who, after all, are the ones suffering from disfranchisement, believe that the most vital issue before the nation today is the question of placing in the hands of the whole people the power to govern themselves. Some peaceful political separations have resulted from this differing point of view.

Fola La Follette (Mrs. George Middleton), the daughter of Senator La Follette of Wisconsin, will work against President Wilson in the present election campaign. Her husband, George Middleton, author and playwright, has announced his purpose to support the Democratic ticket.

The same situation has cropped up in hundreds of families, some notable instances occuring in the case of Representative and Mrs. Kent, of California; Mr. and Mrs. Fremont Older, of California; Mr. and Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, of New Jersey; Mr. and Mrs. Frederick C. Howe, of New York; Mr. and Mrs. Richard Lloyd Jones, of Wisconsin; Mr. and Mrs. Meredith Nicholson, of Indiana; and Mr. and Mrs. Gilson Gardner, of Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Kent says frankly, "Mr. Kent is glad to have me take this position contrary to him because he wants me to act according to my convictions." She adds that Mr. Kent is a "good suffragist." Nevertheless he is national chairman of the Wilson Independent League. He, the man in politics, would not put "suffrage first;" "his is the psychology of the enfranchised class," says Mrs. Kent.

One of the California papers, interested in this happy result of the modern suffrage movement, writes:

"Mrs. Kent, in announcing this divergence of opinion, approved the allegiance of Mr. Kent to his convictions, but declared her loyalty to hers. It takes a big soul in a woman to take this stand, particularly when the woman's husband is in the public eye as is Mr. Kent. So, too, does it take a big soul in a man not to resent it. But Mr. Kent doesn't. On the contrary, he approves his wife's attitude toward her convictions. Here is a new standard in the sane relation of wives and husbands—each a complete personality."

Fola La Follette
(Mrs. George Middleton)

Mrs. Kent herself desired to vote for President Wilson and did all in her power to get him to support the Susan B. Anthony amendment. But she is working loyally with the Woman's Party.

"I am opposing Mr. Wilson," she said, "because of his hostility to the freedom of American women. Men will not put suffrage first; therefore, we women must. I appeal to all women voters of California to refuse to support Mr. Wilson and to stand by their disfranchised sisters in so doing."

Mr. Hopkins of New Jersey, and Mr. Jones of Wisconsin, are in favor of national woman suffrage. Before Congress adjourned they sent Mr. Wilson vigorous messages urging him to come out boldly and honestly for the federal amendment. Mr. Hopkins, who was state chairman of the Progressive party, declared in a letter to the President's secretary that "if the amendment could possibly be pushed through at this session, it would, in my judgment, assure Mr. Wilson's re-election." Mr. Jones, who is editor of the *Wisconsin State Journal,* sent President Wilson a fiery telegram, rebuking him for opposing women's freedom.

"Equal suffrage is coming by federal amendment," the telegram read: "This amendment will come in a few years in spite of you. Delay or default will do you no good. You can force it through Congress now if you want to. Such a demand will result to your lasting credit and insure your re-election. It is up to you. Your only weakness has been your failure to see fundamental federal democracy. The Woman's Party is working on right political principles. You should put yourself in a position to deserve the support of voting women. You need it and it is a Democrat's duty."

Still Mr. Jones and Mr. Hopkins have announced that they will vote for Mr. Wilson in November. But the wives of both of these men are working against Mr. Wilson.

"To me, an unenfranchised woman," says Mrs. Hopkins, "suffrage is the supreme issue of the day. Any party which refuses freedom to the women of the country is a menace to its democracy. There can be no true democracy until the voice of all the people is heard at the polls on election day. Therefore, I shall oppose the party which has systematically blocked the passage of the Anthony amendment, and will do all I can to defeat that party."

Not long ago Mr. Jones and Mr. Gilson Gardner, both influential newspaper men, were talking over the national political situation with Mr. Vance McCormick, chairman of the Democratic campaign committee. Mr. McCormick was sputtering vehemently against the Woman's Party and all its works.

"Look here," said Mr. Jones, "these women are entirely right in this matter, and we are entirely wrong. We should not have precipitated this situation by opposing their bill."

Mr. McCormick began to express a somewhat unflattering opinion of the women working in the new political movement for suffrage.

"My wife," said Mr. Jones, "is a member of the Woman's Party."

"And so is mine!" said Mr. Gardner. ***

"What I can't understand," says Mr. Allen McCurdy, who is himself standing by the suffrage ship, and being a man, is privileged to criticise his sex, "is how men I know, who have spoken themselves hoarse for suffrage all over New York state and have said a thousand times that there was no use talking of democracy at all while half the people were disfranchised, can throw the issue over when the moment comes to cast a vote!"

But Mrs. Kent's explanation that they have "the psychology of the enfranchised class" clearly and amiably covers the case. Women, even women voters, have not. They are members of a class still disfranchised, and they know it. The disfranchised man and the enfranchised woman are both exceptions. The political helplessness of women throughout the nation still powerfully affects the social and economic position of the women of the great favored free states, and unites all women in the effort to liberate womanhood itself.

The Woman's Party contemplates serenely the scattering among its masculine support. If large numbers of men thought a woman's measure was really of first importance at election time, it would be an excellent indication that women did not need the vote at all.

Moreover, the rule works both ways. If the best friends of suffrage among men, find themselves unwilling to vote on the suffrage issue, the "antis," who are usually far more lukewarm about the matter than the "pros," will certainly do the same.

Few men will vote against or vote for a party on account of its attitude to woman suffrage.

But women will. There lies the power of western women to enfranchise the nation.

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on December 7, by Senators Sutherland, Thomas and Thompson.

In the House, on December 6, by Representatives Mondell, Raker, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported

In the Senate, January 8, the Sutherland Amendment, known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1; by a favorable vote.

Present Status

In the Senate, on the calendar, awaiting action.

In the House, before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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Art Editor.....Mrs. Nina E. Allender
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Conscription and Woman Suffrage

IT comes with a shock of surprise to most women to learn that the Hay army bill carries a clause authorizing the President to resort to conscription, in time of war.

The conscription clause in the army bill reads:

"If for any reason there shall not be enough volunteer enlistments to keep the reserve battalions at the prescribed strength, a sufficient number of the *unorganized militia* shall be called into the service of the United States to maintain each of such battalions at the proper strength."

The unorganized militia means all male citizens, with certain specified exemptions, between the ages of 18 and 45.

This section of the army bill, wisely or unwisely, introduces a startling change into our military regulations.

Throughout our history, Congress has empowered the President to draft citizens into the army by force. But this was done by special act of Congress, after war was declared, and when the cause and the gravity of the emergency were known to Congress and the people represented by Congress.

To authorize, in time of profound peace, compulsory military service, and to give the President—and all future Presidents—a standing power to conscript, is an unheard-of innovation.

Necessary or not, such a law goes right to the heart of women; and it is no longer endurable that it could be adopted without their sanction.

It is certain that many women will regard this clause in the Hay bill with profound distrust.

In England conscription was not resorted to till after over a year of heated popular debate, so unwillingly did the people, even in the midst of war, arm the government with this vast power over individual liberty.

That Congress has taken a step of this moment before the women of the country as a whole have had any opportunity to express their will in the matter—is revealing to them their pitiable political helplessness.

"Out of War"

A CERTAIN type of campaign speaker is now ringing emotional changes on the phrase, "Support the President; he kept us out of war."

This appeal has a very different ring from the fearless challenge to the people, in the name of real democracy, sent out by Candidate Wilson in 1912.

"If any part of our people want to have guardians put over them," said Mr. Wilson then, "if they want to be taken care of, if they want to be children, patronized by the government, why, I am sorry, because it will sap the manhood of America."

The only power that has kept, will keep, or ought to keep the country out of war is the power of the popular will.

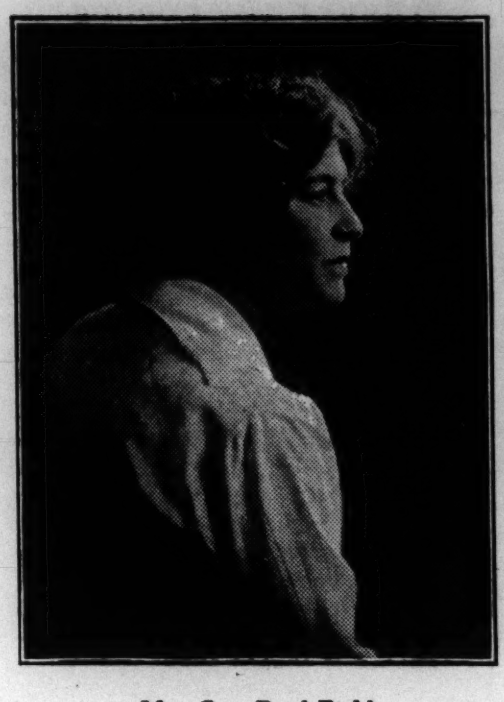
As a matter of actual fact the reason we have not gone to war is because the people of the United States have ardently desired to remain at peace. If the mass of the voters had wished for war, as they wished for preparedness measures, we should have gone to war long ago; because we have had a President who has yielded as has no other President in our history, to emergency demands. But public opinion, organized and unorganized, has been against war. The result is, we have kept ourselves out of it.

Those women who desire the establishment of peace between the nations should do their utmost at this critical time to liberate the influence of women in national affairs, so that the power of the woman's vote may stand between precipitate war and the nation. They will serve their country better by putting into the hands of women power to control the policies of the nation, than by attaching themselves to a single individual because he has "kept us" out of war.

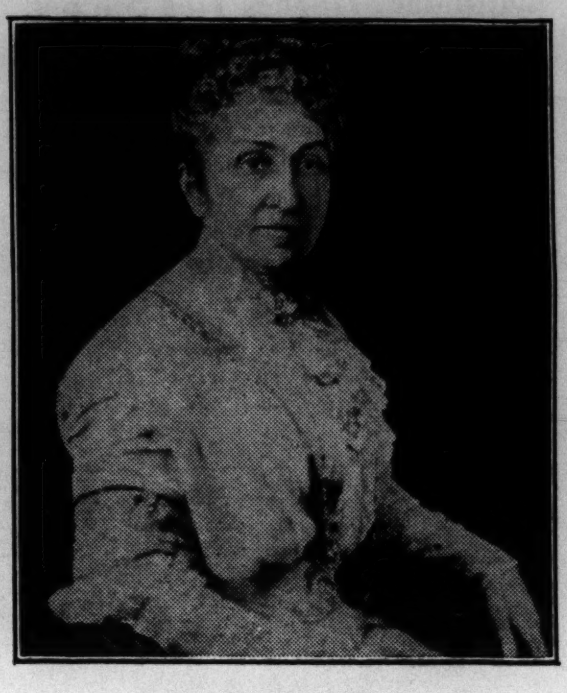
We will have many Presidents in the future with whom the people of the United States will have to deal and upon whom they will have to impress their will. It is our duty to see that the will impressed upon the President of the United States is the will of the whole people.

The vote of peace-loving women in the twelve free states will not support Wilson because "he has kept us out of war." It will be turned against Wilson, because he has opposed to entrance of women into the national electorate.

CALIFORNIA WOMAN'S PARTY ORGANIZES FOR DEFEAT OF DEMOCRATS



Mrs. Sara Bard Field



Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst

Miss Doris Stevens

PRESIDING OFFICER AND SPEAKERS AT CALIFORNIA WOMAN'S PARTY CONFERENCE

CHALLENGING the record of President Wilson and the Democratic party on the issue of national woman suffrage, five hundred of California's most prominent club women and suffrage leaders met in conference in San Francisco Friday of last week and amid tumultous applause pledged themselves to the defeat of that party.

This first California state conference of the Congressional Union was held at the St. Francis Hotel. The name of the organization was formally changed to "The National Woman's Party of California," the constitution of the Woman's Party adopted, officers elected for the ensuing year and plans adopted for further organization and strenuous campaigning in the state.

Leading Californians Call Conference

The call to the conference, which had been sent throughout the state and given wide publicity, was signed by Miss Gail Laughlin, state chairman; Mrs. Adolphus E. Graupner, Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, Mrs. Frederick Sanborn, Mrs. Austin Sperry, Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, Miss Maud Younger, Mrs. Herman Kower, Mrs. Lillian Harris Coffin, Mrs. Shelley Tollhurst, Mrs. Mary Austin, Mrs. Fremont Older, Mrs. Henry Sahlein, Mrs. John Franklin Swift, Mrs. George E. King, Mrs. Lillian Pray Palmer, Dr. Mary Sperry, and Mrs. Elizabeth Gerberding, the members of the state executive committee.

The conference opened with a brilliant luncheon presided over by Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, vice-chairman of the National Woman's Party. Mrs. William Kent acted as toastmistress and the prominent speakers were Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, Mrs. Orlow Black, Mrs. Sara Bard Field and Miss Beulah Amidon.

Mrs. Field, in a rousing speech, declared that the President had "told some of us he could not speak for his party: as a matter of fact," she added, "Wilson's individual leadership in the Democratic party is almost limitless in its power. He writes their laws, their party platforms, and tells them what they must say and what they must do. He is personally and directly responsible for the failure of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to be passed. And we must fight him and his party, for both are opposed to us."

Wilson's Suffrage Record Scored

Mrs. Orlow Black's speech on "Sex Solidarity" aroused a storm of applause.

"President Wilson said the other day that he would not counsel the women to be patient," she said. "He admitted that the women have been patient. He tells the women to wait,—if not for all time and eternity, at least while his own presidential campaign is on. But the National Woman's Party casts its challenge to President Wilson and the Democratic party. A rebuke to the Democratic party is the surest way to manifest the solidarity of woman."

Miss Amidon spoke of the power the voting women of the West possess. Mrs. Kent presided at the conference which followed the luncheon.

Upon the report of a nominating committee composed of Mrs. Alice Park, Palo Alto; Mrs. W. R. Briggs, Berkeley; Mrs. E. C. Hurff, San José; the following officers of the California Woman's Party were elected:

Chairman, Mrs. Ida Finney Mackrille, San Francisco; vice-chairmen, Mrs. Fremont Older, Cupertino; Miss Gail Laughlin, Mrs. Henry Sahlein, Mrs. Adolphus Graupner, Mrs. Phoebe Hearst, Mrs. Frederick Sanborn, Mrs. Austin Sperry, Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe Watson, Miss Maud Younger, Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Mrs. Rhoda Ringrose, San Francisco; Mrs. John Franklin Swift, Berkeley; Mrs. George E. King, Fair Oaks; Mrs. Lillian Pray Palmer, San Diego; Mrs. J. O. Hayes, San José; Mrs. Charles D. Blaney, Saratoga; Mrs. Will Parsons, Santa Cruz; Mrs. Ellen C. Scripps, La Jolla; Mrs. Ray Jones, Miss Jessie Anthony, Mrs. Shelley Tollhurst, Los Angeles; *ex-officio* through Advisory Council, Inez Haynes Gilmore, New York; Mrs. Mary Austin, Carmel; Mrs. Elizabeth Gerberding, Berkeley.

Campaign Fund Started

Mrs. Phoebe Hearst with $1,000 and Mrs. William H. Crocker with $500 headed the subscription list of $2,000 that was raised toward a campaign fund in California.

Miss Doris Stevens, the state campaign manager, closed the conference with a ringing appeal for votes against the Democratic administration because of its hostility to women's national enfranchisement.

In the evening the newly elected executive committee met with the various congressional district, county and precinct chairmen and discussed plans and methods of organizing the votes of California's women against Mr. Wilson and the Democratic party.

Women All Against Wilson

THE DEMOCRATIC party is figuring hard these days to meet the thoroughly organized campaign which the Woman's Party is prepared to carry on in the twelve equal suffrage states of the West. The fact, however, that nothing active has been done by the Democrats in this direction is evidence that they are up a tree and do not know how to get down.—*El Centro (Cal.) Progress.*

Quite Right

MISS ALICE PAUL, generalissimo of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, wants President Wilson to call a special session of Congress before November to pass an amendment to the constitution granting the vote to all the women of the nation. She probably believes in the theory that what is not worth asking for is not worth having.—*Washington (D. C.) Herald.*

COMMENTS OF

Woman's Patience—Wilson's Impatience

IT was noted that while President Wilson recommended the suffragists to await the attainment of their end with patience, he announced himself as impatient of discussion concerning the practical methods by which this end could be reached.—*Alice Duer Miller in the New York Tribune.*

The Question of "Method"

IN spite of Mr. Wilson's impatience at the discussion of methods, the recent convention of the National Suffrage Association at Atlantic City was occupied almost exclusively with the consideration of methods. The women knew from actual experience how important the question of methods was. The selection of the most effective route to suffrage is the great problem of suffrage agitators. * * *

Any organization occupied chiefly in promoting the federal amendment must be prepared to force the Democrats and Republicans to bid against one another for women's votes; and this they cannot do effectively until they are willing to charge up against the less accommodating party the failure to support the amendment. The problem of suffrage propaganda will become that of using women's votes most skillfully in the interest of votes for more women. The politicians must be taught that the one perfect way of getting woman suffrage out of party politics is to make women the political equals of men before the law.—*The New Republic.*

Hughes' Suffrage Stand Wins Men and Women

THAT Charles E. Hughes will command a very great number of woman's votes is made the clearer since the convention of the Woman's Party in Colorado Springs last week. The Republican candidate's position on the matter of suffrage is so clean-cut and in such pleasing contrast from the position President Wilson has taken that he ought to be favored by the friends of the cause.

But Mr. Hughes is not to receive votes from women alone on his suffrage stand. He has attracted to his candidacy considerable support from the ranks of independent men voters who like the stand he has taken.—*Fresno (Calif.) Herald.*

"Are Women People?"

WHEN the people of a state," exclaims the New York *World* in an impassioned editorial against the federal amendment, "are no longer able to say who shall vote and who shall not vote in their local election, they might as well shut up shop and throw their state government into the scrap-heap."

But the object of the federal amendment is to allow the people of a state to vote.

If, that is, women are people.—*Alice Duer Miller in the New York Tribune.*

Candidate Hughes Has Slipped One Over

IT appears that candidate Hughes has sort of slipped one over on the President by coming out in favor of woman suffrage. In his speech of acceptance, Mr. Hughes very warmly endorsed the movement to give the women of America their rightful place as citizens.

It occurs to us that this was a very wise proposition, and one that is bound to obtain favor in this, the most enlightened nation on the face of the earth.—*Deming (N. M.) Graphic.*

EVANS in the Baltimore American

What Will Wilson Do Now?

Wilson: "Ods bodikins! Why didn't I come out sooner?"

Sticking to a Platform

THE assertion of the President that he believes in woman suffrage being left to the several states because such is the demand of the Democratic platform, fails in the attempted aspect of sincerity. * * * Perhaps to have said that the platform made this declaration because it was the Wilson belief, would have been more obviously frank. However, the placing of the cart before the horse is not an unprecedented political error.

There can be no doubt but Mr. Hughes will win a definite support that otherwise would not have been his, by the open statement that he favors suffrage on a national basis.—*San Bernardino (Calif.) Sun.*

Wilson Pussy-Footing on Big Issues

MR. HUGHES is in line with the most far-sighted men and women of the age. He has come out for woman suffrage by national amendment at a time when the politicians, and even the conventions of both the big parties, were sidestepping. "It is inevitable," Mr. Hughes declared, in telling the women that suffrage was bound to come. And word now comes from the White House that the President is weakening in his attitude. Like on other important questions, Mr. Wilson is willing to let the states decide and not the nation. But this is a year when the leaders cannot pussy-foot on the big issues. They must be for or against, and Mr. Hughes is one of the big men whose position on important questions will not be misunderstood.

His declaration for equal rights will be gladly hailed throughout the West.—*Bakersfield (Calif.) Echo.*

Unstable as—Wilson

WILSON sidestepped on woman suffrage. Then he said it was something for the states to decide. Hughes, who was not of two minds about the issue, came out flatly for votes for women. Now, Wilson, unless he is deceiving the suffragists with weasel words, is converted.—*New York Sun.*

Why Women Oppose Wilson

THE position of the leaders of the movement for the extension of the suffrage to women is that Wilson, by refusing to lend the influence of his name and office to the national suffrage movement, is catering to the sentiment of the solid South, on which rests his only hope of re-election.

The South is utterly and persistently opposed to equal suffrage, and will remain so. It controls, and is likely to control for years to come, the policies and the actions of the Democratic party.

There is not the slightest hope of any action by Congress looking for the extension of the elective franchise to women anywhere so long as there is a Democratic majority in either house.

While the President has officially nothing to do with the submission of amendments to the constitution of the United States, unofficially and as the leader of his party he can have a great deal to do in all matters relating to party action. And that influence will be no less potent and effective because not exercised officially or in the open.

It is for this reason that women generally in all states in which they have the elective franchise are making the position of Wilson on this subject the paramount issue of the campaign—paramount because it concerns what they want most and first—and are openly and officially declaring their opposition to Wilson and their support of Hughes.—*San Francisco Chronicle.*

THE PRESS

Election Prospects in California

HIS (Mr. Hughes') recent unequivocal indorsement of woman suffrage certainly gives him an immense advantage over President Wilson in the eyes of California women.—*Los Angeles Graphic.*

The Enfranchisement Issue

THE distinction between the position on the enfranchisement of women taken respectively by Mr. Hughes and Mr. Wilson, is important and should be more fully discussed than it has been.

Mr. Hughes favors the submission of a federal amendment. Mr. Wilson favors state action merely.

The choice is natural. Mr. Wilson is a southern Democrat, whose traditions, though sometimes departed from, as in the case of the federal child labor law, are for state rights. Mr. Hughes is a Republican and a federalist and he finds no traditional political objection to federal action in the history of his party, which has always supported nationalism and developed the federal power where broad problems of national welfare were to be met.

As a question of political policy the matter turns really on whether the power of the conservative South to check enfranchisement shall be greater or less.

Women's Co-operation Needed in Industrial Legislation

Superficially it may be argued that the southern states should not have enfranchisement thrust upon them by the North. But the argument is superficial only. The paramount reason for the enfranchisement of women is based on their entrance into industry and the consequent need that they should possess the democratic instrument of self-protection and advancement, the ballot. It is felt with growing force in the North that the co-operation of women in legislation, especially in social legislation, is highly desirable, because of the changes in woman's life and because of the reorganization of modern society consequent upon industrialism, the growth of cities, the regimentation of labor, and related changes in the progress of our time.

Industrial Problems are National Problems

But these problems are not in their nature or in their effect sectional. They are national and the social and industrial and political conditions from which they arise concern every section of the country. The backwardness of the South in respect of the progressive movements, its failure to realize the problems to which the changes in modern industry and society have given rise, and to meet them in a modern spirit, affect the progress of the whole nation and retard it. This applies to the enfranchisement of women. We who believe as Mr. Hughes does in woman suffrage recognize that the South needs it not merely for the sake of the South but for the sake of the nation, and we believe it is just that if under the constitution the required three-fourths of all the American commonwealths determine that there shall be equal suffrage in the greater community of the nation, the minority shall submit to the judgment.

Mr. Hughes' position is in line with the tradition of his party and in keeping with the enlightened and, to use one of Mr. Wilson's favorite phrases, the forward looking politices which have inspired its past and will guide its future. The localism of the South is in Mr. Wilson's view, while Mr. Hughes has expressed the larger vision which the party of Lincoln has been blessed with from its beginning. * * *

CASSEL in the New York Evening World

Packing His Belongings

Woman Suffrage, Like Child Labor Law, a Vital National Interest

In the passage of the child labor law there was recognition of the fact that, however preferable in theory it might be to leave the protection of childhood to the conscience of localities, in fact, for reasons neither theoretical nor political, we could not contrive to provide that protection without resorting to the national authority actuated by the vital national interests in the conservation of our citizenship. To accomplish this by a violent extension of a clause of the constitution not strictly devised for any such purpose was not the best way to protect a vital national interest. But it was the only practicable way, and the conscience of the awakened portion of the country compelled the concession even from a political leader who in the almost equally vital question of enfranchisement barricades himself behind his political traditions.

Nation May Require Enfranchisement of Women

If it is conceded that modern America needs the political co-operation of woman, and Mr. Wilson seems to concede this, then the nation in self-protection and for the proper acceleration of its social progress may require the enfranchisement of all American women.

Mr. Hughes has had the statesmanship to see this logic and to be true to it.—*Chicago Tribune.*

Hughes Will Have the Better of it

THE run of recent newspaper comment plainly is that Hughes will have the better of it, wherever suffrage is a campaign issue.—*Butte (Mont.) Daily Post.*

Woman's Opportunity

A CONSERVATIVE writer in the *Evening Post* counts among the doubtful states in the coming campaign the following suffrage states: Arizona, Montana, Nevada and Wyoming. Some people add California and Colorado to this list.

According to figures isued by the Congressional Union leader the following percentages would have changed the result of the vote in the elections of 1912, in each of these states:

Arizona	7.2
California	0.1
Colorado	7.8
Montana	3.4
Nevada	5.9
Wyoming	0.9

It seems as if a little work on either side would go a long way.—*Alice Duer Miller in the New York Times.*

Votes for Women—The Battle Cry of a New Party

VOTES for women!

These three words very faithfully express just what the women of thirty-six states of the Union have set out to get. These three words form the slogan which is inscribed upon the banner of the National Women's Party, a new force and power in American life.—*Trinidad (Col.) Chronicle News.*

Somebody's Scared

IT looks as though the suffragists had somebody on the run—trying to catch up.—*Boston (Mass.) Journal.*

Change Again, Mr. President

PRESIDENT WILSON has given occasion for criticism arising from his change in attitudes on great issues. Originally he took the stand, that child labor should be left to individual action by the various state legislatures. That is his attitude on woman suffrage.

This child labor agitation involves justice to all the children in the nation. Woman suffrage involves justice to all the women in this country. Is not one a national issue as well as the other?—*Vermont Advance.*

CAMPAIGN AGAINST DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN THE WEST

WE told the suffrage record of the Democratic party at a Wilson meeting last night and nearly got arrested. One of Mr. Wilson's supporters denounced us from the platform," writes Miss Doris Stevens from California, adding, "The fight is on and it surely is a hot one."

And that is what the campaign is fast becoming—"a hot fight."

The strength of the "Suffrage First" movement may easily be judged by the bitterness with which it is assailed by the Democratic press and Democratic supporters. Democratic editors, finding it useless to try to stop the growth of the Woman's Party by their bitter editorial attacks upon it, are refusing to carry Woman's Party news in their news columns.

Miss Maud Younger of California

Who is Speaking for the Woman's Party in Wyoming

"Nearly Every Woman Present Joins"

"Miss Younger is making wonderful speeches," writes Miss Margery Ross from Wyoming.

Miss Ross says that many Democratic women of Wyoming were unwilling to pledge their vote against President Wilson, because they believed that he would do something for the equal suffrage measure before Congress adjourned. But after adjournment they knew that opposition to the Democratic party on their part was the only way to remove the opposition to the federal suffrage amendment.

Then the coming of Miss Maud Younger of California, "fresh from the halls of Congress," where she lobbied unceasingly for the bill, and her story of the shelving of the issue by the Democratic party, settled any doubt in their minds as to the best way to use their votes for suffrage.

"At nearly every meeting," says Miss Ross, "after Miss Younger's speech every woman present joins."

Great Open Air Meetings in San Francisco

A great open air meeting was held in the very heart of San Francisco on September 9; Miss Mildred Gilbert and Mrs. H. A. Livermore, both of San Francisco, were the speakers.

"And," says the *Chronicle*, "they held up to scorn the record of the President on the suffrage amendment."

"We view with amazement and contempt the President's statement that the suffragists should wait a little longer," said the speakers. "The President has waited until after Congress adjourned to attempt to qualify his position."

"The National Woman's Party has no candidate for President," said Miss Stevens. "It has but one plank in its platform, and that is national suffrage. We urge the voters to cast their ballots against President Wilson upon his record on that plank and upon his entire attitude toward woman suffrage."

"And the crowd cheered the women," says the *Chronicle*.

Miss Mary Fairbrother, for the California State Democratic Women's League, has sought to arrange a debate with the National Woman's Party on President Wilson and suffrage.

"Miss Fairbrother called upon me and invited a debate," said Miss Stevens, "but she desired to limit the question to one of tactics. I advised her that we are not interested in the tactics of President Wilson, but if she desires to discuss his record on woman suffrage we shall be glad to meet her debaters. Miss Fairbrother has that under consideration."

"Some of Us Wanted to Vote for Mr. Wilson—"

Mrs. Orlow Black, a well-known California woman, speaking of her political views, says:

"Some of us wanted to vote for Woodrow Wilson, and we felt, until the last moment, that he might see the light, for he has on other occasions displayed hindsight as well as foresight.

"But Congress has decided to adjourn and the suffrage bill was given indecent burial by the Judiciary Committee.

"Now those of us who held on until the end of the session have come out for the Woman's Party, and refuse to vote for the spokesman of the party which lost a magnificent opportunity to settle this question for all time.

"Those of us who worked in the suffrage campaign in California believe that campaign was to our state its finest spiritual manifestation of organized protest, of noble discontent and passionate beliefs. The result was the enfranchisement of the women in California.

"Now the enfranchised women of the western states have an opportunity to put these same forces into action for the disinterested purpose of helping their sisters gain political freedom."

Woman's Party Has Most Prominent Headquarters at Illinois Fair

At the Illinois state fair, which opened September 14, at Springfield, is a large tent at which there will be continuous speaking by members of the Woman's Party.

The *State Journal* says:

"From the very commencement of the fair, politics will be a live issue. Between the Dome building and the Machinery hall, the most pretentious political headquarters will be found. Across the front of it, a loud forty foot sign, 'We demand an amendment to the United States constitution, enfranchising women,' will indicate the location of the National Woman's Party, and its Illinois campaign manager, Mrs. Jessie Hardy MacKaye."

The twelfth district of Illinois was organized early in September with Mrs. Walter Forbes, chairman; Mrs. Frank Carpenter, Mrs. Byron Eastwood, Mrs. Luther Derwent, Mrs. James Joslyn, and Mrs. Margaret C. Carr, vice-chairmen; Mrs. J. Harold Clark, SUFFRAGIST chairman; Mrs. Seeley Perry, press chairman.

More than two hundred women attended a luncheon on the municipal pier in Chicago, September 14. The luncheon was given under the auspices of the Medical Woman's Club. Dr. Effie L. Lobdell presided and the speakers were Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, Mrs. Gilson Gardner, and Miss Anne Martin.

Women of All Parties Answer Appeal

"Women of all parties answer the appeal of eastern women for aid," writes Miss Alice Henkle from Nevada.

Mrs. Edna S. Latimer has joined Miss Mabel Vernon, and many meetings have been arranged at which the women of Nevada will have the opportunity of hearing Mrs. Latimer's story of the part she has played in the fight for national suffrage.

Organization of the precincts in Reno is progressing rapidly, with Miss Sarah C. Grant of Minnesota assisting.

Mrs. Latimer and Miss Vernon intend to go through the mining camps and return to Reno about the first of October.

Eight Utah Counties Completely Organized

In Utah the organization of eight counties is complete down to every ward and precinct. The remaining organization will be completed by the first of October when a whirlwind campaign will be conducted through the state to last until November 7.

"Western Women Owe It to Eastern Women to Vote for Suffrage"

Governor James Withycombe of Oregon in a recent interview said to Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore and Miss Mary G. Fendall that he heartily endorsed the work of the Woman's Party for the enfranchisement of women.

He said, "Western women owe it to eastern women to vote to help suffrage."

Miss Fendall and Miss Whittemore are assisting in the National Woman's Party organization work in Oregon.

Reports from this state say that the response of Oregon women to the appeal of the women of the East is "whole-souled and instantaneous."

State of Arizona to be Covered in Fifteen Days

No political candidate can cover ground better than Miss Helen Todd, National Woman's Party speaker in Arizona. Miss Todd has sent in a program of twelve speeches in fifteen days. This tour practically covers the state.

The state branches of the Woman's Party are at present centering their activities on completing organization and in planning meetings and other activities for the month of October. During that month a continuous round of meetings will be carried on throughout the entire West.

Treasurer's Report

Treasurer: Miss Joy L. Webster
Assistant Treasurer: Miss Gertrude L. Crocker
Bank of Deposit: American Security and Trust Co.

Contributions toward $200,000 Fund for Securing the Passage of the Federal Suffrage Amendment

List of Contributions from September 13 through September 18, 1916

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Mrs. E. D. Crawford..	$5.00
Miss Carrie Wright....	10.00
Mr. Alfred Linton.....	5.00
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins.	2.00
L. T.	3.50
Mrs. E. H. Jenkins	2.00
Mr. Ben L. Rich.....	5.00
Mrs. Clare Osborne Reed	10.00
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Miss Dora Yegen	5.00
Mrs. A. M. Crawford..	1.00
Through New Jersey Branch:	
Mrs. Abram Rose.	15.00
Miscellaneous	25.30
Collection	13.81
Membership fees	11.25
Total	$943.86
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST....	$156,889.36

National Headquarters Receipts:

Total collected by National Headquarters Through September 18, 1916	$157,833.22

Contributions made to New Jersey Headquarters:

Mr. Peyton Boyle.....	50.00
Total	50.00
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST.....	17,047.62

President Wilson Playing for Time

RESPONSIBILITY for the failure of the Susan B. Anthony suffrage amendment to come to a vote in Congress this year was placed on President Wilson by J. Frank Hanly, the Prohibition candidate for president in a recent address in Seattle.

"For three years," Mr. Hanly said, "the President and his party have had unhindered control of every department of the federal government. Congress has done his bidding. Had he desired, he could long since have obtained the submission to the states of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

"It comes with poor grace now, after three years, untrammeled power, marked by no effort, not even the slightest, to obtain congressional consideration for the suffrage question, for him to attempt to console the women of the country by the suggestion that they can afford 'a little while to wait.' The truth is that the suffragists have driven him to bay. Frightened by the possible loss of ninety-one electoral votes in the suffrage states, he is simply playing for time and begging the real issue."

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Branch Receipts:

Total collected by the Branches through September 18, 1916.....	$17,097.62
Grand total	$174,930.84

A Correction

The contribution of $25. credited to Miss Josephine C. Locke in THE SUFFRAGIST of September 2, should have been credited to Mr. John M. Locke.

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Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe	2
Miss Iris Calderhead	5
Miss Beulah E. Amidon	3
Washington Branch Congressional Union	3
Mrs. A. R. Colvin	1
Miss Ella Riegel	1
Mrs. Margaret Wood Kessler	1
Mrs. Sardis Summerfield	1
Mrs. R. M. Laird	2
Miss Lizzie Collins	1
Miss Clara Louise Rowe	6
Mrs. Effa Funk Muhse	7
Miss Caroline Katzenstein	3
Miss Katharine Morey	1
Miss Kathleen Taylor	1
Mrs. Robert Adamson	1
Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore	1
Miss Sarah C. Grant	1
Miss E. E. Wilson	1
Miss Cornelia Wyse	3
Miss Anne Martin	20
Miss Katharine R. Fisher	3
Dr. Caroline E. Spencer	1
Mrs. Lillian H. Kerr	1
Miss Maud Bellar	1
Mrs. Bessie Boswell	1
Total	82
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	3,758
Total through September 16th, secured by members	3,840

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Of THE SUFFRAGIST, published weekly at Washington, D. C. for October, 1916.

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Managing Editor: Miss Lucy Burns, 21 Madison Place, Washington, D. C.

Business Manager: Miss S. Ada Flatman, 21 Madison Place, Washington, D. C.

Owners: Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C.

Executive Committee:

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Miss Lucy Burns, Vice-Chairman
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